2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

847 If the baby died and the woman wanted another, she buried it near the surface. If she wanted no more, she buried it deep. Women [848] professed to know nothing about means of abortion saying that there was little need for them, since an unmarried mother suffered no stigma. Deformed babies and those born by "light women" who did not want the burden were dropped in an arroyo to die of [843] exposure. It was considered that a woman who had a husband and did not bear children would soon die herself of the unnatural condition.

845 Twins were considered to be born shamans. People regarded 756 both them and their parents with some awe, since whatever they said would come true. Thus, if they said a certain person would die, he would: if they called him ugly, swollen, lame, he would become so. Therefore everybody made offerings to twins (the word used is the same as that for offerings made at a shrine). Their parents did the same. Anyone who rebuked a twin suffered. One informant slapped the cheek of a twin who annoyed her while gambling and immediately her arm swelled. She went to the twin for relief, bringing a gift. The child wet her fingertips in her mouth and touched the arm which immediately healed.

This power of twins did not persist beyond childhood unless they had dreams and became shamans in the regular way. However, they usually did so and were much more likely to dream than the average person. If one twin died, the other died also.

CHILDHOOD

[862] Babies were nursed until they were two and three years old. 753 One informant said, "My babies died. It was because they came ● 853 too fast. When there was a new one coming, there was not milk for the old one" (26). The cause of most infant complaints was supposed to be the fact that the fontanelle did not close properly. A shaman or an old women who had dream power inserted a finger in the child's mouth and pushed on the palate. This was thought to push up the [757] whole top of the head and close the fontanelle. Diarrhoea was treated with the vapor of canyon ragweed. The leaves were wet and a hot cloth laid over them, then the infant was set on the cloth in the vapor. Children's fevers were thought to be due to the hot breath of a dog. They and other diseases were treated in the regular way by the shaman.

854 The child was carried on the cradleboard until it was able to walk. Mothers, on their long expeditions to fetch food and water, placed the cradleboard on top of the other contents of the carrying basket and while they worked, stood it against a tree. When the

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

That coyote rose up and said: "Do you want to see something?" "Yes." My husband died right there and the coyote carried him away.

The other men wanted to go home and they said: "Where is he?" But the leader knew about these things. "He must have Met something. Let him alone."

Next morning my husband awoke and found himself lying by that dead coyote. He went back to the others but he never told them what he had seen.

Only after that he used to go out at night and Meet the coyotes. He would leave early in the evening and come back looking sick or drunk. The coyotes had killed him and taught him while he was dead. He did not tell us this in the house, but we all understood. The same thing was happening to his two brothers and had happened to his father before him. It was coyote who Met them all.

After a while the people began to know that he had something. They would ask him to come and find their sicknesses for them, because people have great faith in a young medicine man. They think he has more power than an old one; he has not used it up. My husband had got himself a gourd rattle and some eagle feathers. We get our gourds down in Mexico where they grow them large and beautiful. He glued a handle on one with some mesquite gum and put some pebbles inside; nice little pebbles that you find in the wash among the ants. He got eagle feathers from an old man and tied them on a handle, four of them, tied two and two, beautifully wound about with string. He went to the houses and sat all night, rattling the gourd and singing, and they gave him clothes and food. We got rich.

Six children I had by my husband, for he was a strong man. I never had any trouble in childbirth. And I could tell what sex they would be before they were born. If the movement in my womb were strong, it would be a boy. I had five boys. I was unlucky with them, though. As soon as a new one came, the one before it died. I know a great deal about children, now that I am old, and I think it was the milk. We nurse our children till long after they can walk and talk. We must. We have no cow's milk. What would they eat? But my husband was such a strong man. The children came so fast. I was always nursing one while another was coming, and then the nursing one died.

Perhaps, though, it was only diseases that came by bad luck. That is what my husband said. He treated our children; they were among the first he sang for. One had jackrabbit sickness, which is a sort of coughing and choking that comes to a child so it cannot breathe. Another had dog sickness. I suppose a dog must have breathed on me with its hot breath before the

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

est whimper brings her to him immediately, to talk to him or pick him up. 854
Often she will place him on his back across her knees and pat his chest with a slow regular beat, letting her lower arm fall as a dead weight on him. The stroke is heavy enough to expel the air from his lungs, but he seems to like it. If he persists in crying when she or someone else attends him, the mother eventually quiets him by nursing.

Papago babies are nursed whenever they cry from hunger or when they 853
can be quieted in no other way. Feeding is irregular; the child is usually nursed before bedtime (but this hour varies from day to day), and ordinarily once during the night, oftener if he awakens. Breast feeding is the almost invariable rule.[5]

If he is awake at the family mealtime, the infant sits on his mother's lap at 853
the table. At about six months, when he begins to notice the food in the dishes 862
and perhaps fuss for it, his mother will feed him broth or juices of the food on the table, or perhaps coffee, offering it to him with a spoon. Later he is given bits of mashed beans or potatoes by spoon, and little pieces of tortilla or a section of an orange to chew. At fourteen or sixteen months he is still nursing, but he is also taking regularly most of the solid foods served to the family.

Though still sitting on his mother's lap, the baby begins holding his own spoon at about two years. If he fails to satisfy his hunger, the mother feeds him more when her meal is finished. Since highchairs are not used, the child sits alone only when he is big enough to reach the table from an ordinary bench.

THE YOUNG CHILD'S DEVELOPMENT

From the time he is born until he begins walking, the Papago baby spends 854
almost all his time in his hammock, on a bed, or in someone's arms. Conse- 856
quently, he has little freedom for experimenting with the use of his legs. Some babies crawl on hands and knees, and others begin to walk on all fours with legs straightened. Usually, the baby learns to stand by pulling himself up on boxes or furniture and begins to walk after going through a short crawling stage.

Apparently this occurs between fourteen and twenty-two months, but this 856
is only a rough estimate. Many mothers say, "He walked at about the right time"; but this means little because their judgment is based on the child's size and strength rather than on age. Most mothers say that they do not try to teach their children to walk, that the babies "just do it." It is true that there is no urgent or even systematic coaxing, but many mothers amuse themselves

5. The investigator heard of only two instances of bottle feeding in Hickiwan District, both for supplementary feeding, and one of these was at the suggestion of the white teacher.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

304 At Anekam most of the middle-aged women and some of the men had their faces tattooed. These facial markings are dark blue in color and not elaborate. Common to both sexes is a thick line under the eyes, passing the outer angle of the eye and continuing parallel to the mouth until it nearly reaches the hair. This is almost becoming, reminding one of the way actors darken the eyelids. Men have besides markings on the forehead, and women, on the chin, have waving parallel lines descending from each corner of the mouth. Tattooing has been discontinued; the marks used to be applied with thorns from the sahuaro, taken from the top of the plant, and the charcoal of greasewood. Its purpose is somewhat doubtful. For men the reasons given were to draw blood from the eye; for women, to avoid getting wrinkles early. Generally women were the operators. After having been tattooed, salt was not eaten for a month.

●853 862 A curious case of a woman nursing her two children of different ages came under my observation here. When seated, she had the younger lying on the ground in its primitive cradle with the large detachable shade, while the larger one, a boy of four or five years, was playing about. He would frequently run up to his mother and demand his rights which were never refused. Standing up with a large straw hat on his head he enjoyed the mother's milk usually reserved for children of more tender years. Sometimes children who are able to walk are kept in the cradle.

411 821 The wellnigh universal superstition relating to flint

[Arizona Labor Camps]

164 At the end of the 1950 season when harvesters were gleaning the last bits of fiber from the fields, spinal meningitis killed a baby and his 4-year old sister and hospitalized 6 other residents of a labor camp in the Stanfield area. State Health Department officials charged filthy conditions in the camp were responsible,[1] and treated 50 camp inhabitants with sulfa drugs after posting officers to quarantine the camp.[2]

These are conditions threatening permanent residents of the cotton growing counties, and Papago and other migrant workers who live in labor camps. This is why a reservation town like Santa Rosa can be virtually prostrated by influenza at the end of the picking season when the Desert People return to their reserves.

752 Some ills Papagos fall heir to in camps are more or less special cases, like the woman whose foot was run over by a car in Magdalena. Once in a while some one is 164 bitten by a spider. The Desert People are susceptible to 842 colds and pregnancy, as one farmer put it. But one serious problem they share with many Southwestern Indians ●853 is a tendency to feed infants an unsuitable diet. In one 165 labor camp 2 Papago babies died during the summer of 1950 from stomach disorders apparently resulting from eating green fruits in excess and other unsuited foods.

75 The health problem of the Desert People is compounded 177 by their reluctance to submit to European medical treatment. Papago attitudes toward European medicine vary a great deal, from educated individuals who rely on it to conservative families who have nothing to do with it. These most Papago of Papagos baffle farmers who trust in Western medicine implicitly and cannot fathom Papago reasons for not accepting it. One grower, himself of a minority group, could not understand how Papagos could "just lay there and die." But they can, and do, because they know nothing else. Their trust is in native medical practicioners. They do not turn to Western doctors because there have not been enough provided by the Indian Bureau to care for them, and the Papago medical staff has not effectively "sold" itself to the Desert People. All their training has taught the Desert People a system of disease and curing concepts totally different from those of the European doctor's.

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, Feb. 6, 1951.
[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, Feb. 6, 1951.